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PUBLIC PAPERS.

A Treaty of reciprocal Advantage and mutual Convenience between the United States of America and the Chickasaws.

The President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson Brigadier General in the service of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins of North-Carolina, and Andrew Pickens of South-Carolina, Commissioners of the United States, who are vested with full powers, and the Mingco, principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation, representing the said nation, have agreed to the following articles.

Art. I. The Mingco, principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation of Indians, give leave and permission to the President of the United States of America, to lay out, open and make a convenient waggon road through their land between the settlements of Mero district in the States of Tennessee, and those of Natchez in the Mississippi territory, in such way and manner as he may deem proper; and it shall be a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws shall appoint two discreet men to serve as assistants, guides, or pilots, during the time of laying out and opening the road, under the direction of the officer charged with that duty, who shall have a reasonable compensation for their service: Provided always, that the necessary ferries over the water-courses crossed by the said road shall be held and deemed to be the property of the Chickasaw nation.

Art. II. The Commissioners of the United States give to the Mingco of the Chickasaws, and the deputation of that nation, goods to the value of seven hundred dollars, to compensate him and them and their attendants for the expense and inconvenience they may have sustained by their respectful and friendly attention to the President of the United States of America, and to the request made to them in his name, to permit the opening of the road. And as the persons, towns, villages, lands, hunting-ground, and other rights and property of the Chickasaws, as set forth in the treaties or stipu-

lations heretofore entered into between the contracting parties, more especially in and by a certificate of the President of the United States of America, under their seal of the first of July, 1794, are in the peace and under the protection of the United States. The commissioners of the United States do hereby further agree, that the President of the United States of America shall take such measures from time to time, as he may think proper, to assist the Chickasaws to preserve entire all their rights against the encroachments of unjust neighbours, of which he shall be the judge, and also to preserve and perpetuate friendship and brotherhood between the white people and the Chickasaws.

Art. III. The Commissioners of the United States may, if they deem it adviseable, proceed immediately to carry the first article into operation, and the treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, we, the plenipotentiaries have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals at Chickasaw Bluffs, the 24th of October, 1801.

James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins,
Andrew Pickens, Chinmimbe X
Mingco, Immuttaubaw X Chum-
maube X George X Colbert, &c.

A Treaty of Friendship, Limits and Accommodation between the United States of America and the Chactaw Nation of Indians.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson, of the State of Maryland, Brigadier General in the army of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins, of North-Carolina, and Andrew Pickens, of South-Carolina, Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States on the one part, and the Mingos, principal men and warriors of the Chactaw

nation, representing the said nation in council assembled, on the other part, have entered into the following articles and conditions, viz.

Art. I. Whereas the United States, in Congress assembled, did by their Commissioners Plenipotentiary Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin, at a treaty held with the chiefs and head men of the Chactaw nation at Hopewell on the Keowe, the third day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, give peace to the said nation, receive it into the favour and protection of the United States of America: It is agreed by the parties to these presents respectively, that the Chactaw nation, or such part of it as may reside within the limits of the United States, shall be and continue under the care and protection of the said States, and that the mutual confidence and friendship which are hereby acknowledged to subsist between the contracting parties shall be maintained and perpetuated.

Art. II. The Mingos, principal men and warriors of the Chactaw nation of Indians, do hereby give their free consent, that a convenient and durable waggon way be explored, marked, opened, and made under the orders and instructions of the President of the United States, through their lands; to commence at the northern extremity of the settlement of the Mississippi territory, and to be extended from thence, by such route as may be selected and surveyed under the authority of the President of the United States, until it shall strike the lands claimed by the Chickasaw nation; and the same shall be and continue for ever a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chactaws; and the said Chactaws shall nominate two discreet men from their nation who may be employed as assistants, guides, or pilots during the time of laying out and opening the said highway, or so long as may be deemed expedient, under the direction of the officer charged with this duty, who shall receive a reasonable compensation for their services.

Art. III. The two contracting parties covenant and agree that the old line of demarcation heretofore established by and between the officers of his Britannic Majesty and the Chactaw nation, which runs in a parallel direction with the Mississippi river, and eastward thereof, shall be retraced and plainly marked, in such way and manner as the President may direct, in the presence of

two persons to be appointed by the said nation; and that the said line shall be the boundary between the settlements of the Mississippi territory and the Chactaw nation.—And the said nation does by these presents relinquish to the United States, and quit claim for ever, all their right, title, and pretension to the land lying between the said line and the Mississippi river, bounded south by the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and north by the Yazoo river, where the said line shall strike the same; and on the part of the Commissioners it is agreed, that all persons who may be settled beyond this line shall be removed within it, on the side towards the Mississippi, together with their slaves, household furniture, tools, materials and stock, and that the cabins or houses erected by such persons shall be demolished.

Art. IV. The President of the United States may, at his discretion, proceed to execute the second article of this treaty; and the third article may be convenient to the government of the United States, and without unnecessary delay on the part of the other, of which the president shall be the judge; the Chactaws to be seasonably advised, by order of the president of the United States, of the time when, and the place where, the re-survey and re-marking of the old line referred to in the preceding article, will be commenced.

Art. V. The Commissioners of the United States, for and in consideration of the foregoing concessions on the part of the Chactaw nation, and in full satisfaction for the same, do give and deliver to the Mingos, chiefs and warriors of the said nation, at the signing of these presents, the value of two thousand dollars in goods and merchandize, nett cost of Philadelphia, the receipt whereof is lately acknowledged, and they further agree to give three sets of blacksmith's tools to the said nation.

Art. VI. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States, and Mingos, principal men and warriors of the Chactaw nation, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals at Fort Adams, on the Mississippi, this seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred and one, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-sixth.

James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Taskeno X Hopoia, Prota X Homo, Mingo Homo X Mas-satubloy, Oak X Shummo, Mingo X Pooscoo.

Treaty concluded the 20th of May, 1802, between the French Republic and His Serene Highness the Duke of Wurtemberg.

Art. I. There shall be good understanding and amity between the French Republic and His Serene Highness.

II. His Majesty the Emperor, and the Empire of Germany, having consented by the 7th article of the Treaty of Luneville, that the French Republic should possess in full sovereignty and property, the countries and territories situate on the left bank of the Rhine, and which made part of the Empire of Germany, His Serene Highness the Duke of Wurtemberg, renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, in favour of the French Republic, the rights of sovereignty, territorial superiority, property, and all other rights which he exercises, and which belong to him over the countries and territories on the Left Bank of the Rhine, and in particular,

1. The principality of Montbeliard.
2. The county of Storbürg.
3. The seignories of Riquewir, Ostheim, Aubure, Franquemont, Blamont, Clermont, Stéricourt, Châtelot, Granges, Clerval, and Passavant.
4. The fiefs arising out of the said principalities, counties and seignories.
5. The seignories, fiefs, and domains, possessed by the heirs and successors of the natural children of the Duke Leopold Eberhard of Wurtemberg Montbeliard, and which are revertible to the Ducal house.
6. The territories, rights, and revenues at Spire, Dudenhoven, and in the environs on the Left Bank of the Rhine.

III. His Serene Highness in like manner renounces all claims of restitution which he might make upon the French Republic for arrears and non-enjoyment of rights and revenues, and for all other causes, anterior to the present Treaty.

IV. In pursuance of the 7th Article of the Treaty of Luneville, the French Republic promises and engages its good offices to obtain for His Serene Highness, those territorial indemnities which shall be as

much as possible suited to the convenience and pleasure of His Serene Highness, equivalent to the losses of all kinds resulting to His Serene Highness, from the war, and conformable to the advantages and privileges attached to the ceded possessions.

V. The 8th Article of the Treaty of Luneville, concerning the debts of the countries on the Left Bank of the Rhine, shall serve as the basis of the regulations to be made respecting the debts of the countries comprised in the cession made by the 2d Article of the present Treaty.

VI. The private debts of communes and other corporations, shall remain charged to them, and by them paid.

VII. On the day of the ratification of the present Treaty, all sequestrations placed on account of the war, on the goods, effects, and revenues of citizens of the French Republic, in the states of His Serene Highness, shall be taken off, and they shall be at liberty to carry away their goods and effects, and also to sell their property, or receive its revenues, without any hindrance whatever.

LOUISIANA.

The cession of this country to France will be one, if not the first and most powerful, cause of the *next war*, which, it is greatly to be feared, will be the *last war* that Great-Britain will ever wage. It is, therefore, of great moment to watch the events and circumstances connected with this cession, and to prepare ourselves for acting as the case may require.—It is evident, that the result of the projects of France on the continent of North-America must, in a great measure, depend on the disposition and conduct of the United States; and, for that reason, it is of vast importance for us to be early acquainted with that disposition and conduct.—That the people of the United States, from one end of that immense country to the other, are *alarmed* at the prospect of seeing the French in their neighbourhood is very certain; but, that they will take any measures to prevent what they so much dread is very doubtful indeed. The perusal of some few of the articles, which have lately appeared in the American papers, will, however, enable the reader to judge of the probabilities in this respect.

“Baltimore, May 20th, 1802.

“We find nothing, among the articles of the treaty of Amiens, by which the interest

of the United States can be in any degree affected; and there is nothing, therefore, to alloy the pleasure which every friend of humanity must derive from this auspicious event. We had hoped, however, and had been led to believe, that the convention between France and Spain, by which Louisiana is ceded to the French, would be annulled by this treaty. In this expectation we have been disappointed; and it now appears, that this important province is to be annexed to the territories of the French Republic. Whether an attempt will be made, by the government of France, to establish a colony there, is not yet apparent. We stated, sometime since, upon the authority of information which we then considered authentic, that the project had been abandoned. We never questioned the cession of the territory, but denied its intended colonization by the French Republic. Nothing has yet transpired, either giving the stamp of authenticity to the report which had led to this opinion, or convincing us that our information was altogether erroneous and unfounded. We can only say, that we most sincerely hope it may be true, and that we are satisfied, nothing will be wanting on the part of the American government, to induce a relinquishment of the plan. Whatever may have been our attachment to the cause for which the people of France were contending, in the commencement of the revolution, we have now no hesitation in believing, that the government of that country ought to be watched with a jealous eye. We have had strong indications of a departure from the first principles of their revolution. Great and wonderful as is the character of their Chief Consul, we have had too much reason to believe, that universal conquest and domination are the leading objects of his policy. We do not see in him the tyranny of Philip, the cruelty of Alexander, or the brutal ferocity of Charles the XIIth; but we trace in his life and character, the ungovernable ambition of a *Cæsar*, and the aspiring temper of a Cromwell. While the energies of the French Republic, therefore, shall continue under the direction of Buonaparté, we should most sincerely deprecate the event, which should give them an establishment on any section of our continent. The inert and sluggish Spaniard is less to be dreaded than the active and enterprising Frenchman. Bred, and almost born in the camp; trained to the use of arms, and inured to scenes of pillage and slaughter, the peaceful settlers, on our frontiers, would be

constantly exposed to their hostile incursions. If the waters of the Levant have been no security against their ambitious and desolating schemes of conquest; the course of the Mississippi would hardly serve as a line of demarcation, by which they would measure the rightful extent of their possessions. Add to this, the chance of being *deprived of the navigation of this river, so immensely important to our western territories; and we may consider the possession of Louisiana, by the French, as one of the greatest evils which could befall us*; short of an open and predatory warfare. We have the fullest confidence that it will be viewed as an evil by our government, and *that every effort will be made to avert it*. That these efforts may be crowned with success, must be the ardent wish of every American, of whatever sect or party, who is not deluded by a blind and enthusiastic attachment to this too powerful Republic."

"New York, May 24th, 1802.

"The operations in St. Domingo may retard the French in taking possession of Louisiana, and, possibly, afford an opportunity for negotiation, respecting that vulnerable quarter of our continent.—England, Spain, and the United States, are alike concerned in preventing France from gaining foothold on this continent—a single demi-brigade of French *invincibles*, will form the entering wedge to rend asunder the Northern and Western possessions of all these powers.—*Can Great-Britain remain a calm spectator of the gigantic strides of the French Colossus to universal empire?* Will Spain yield up her inexhaustible mines, with the largest and fairest portion of the Western world possessed by any European power, without a struggle? *Pour nous autres*, what can we do alone? To Americans, will not be left the last dire consolation of the wretched Ulysses in the Cyclops clutches, we shall not be the last, but the first, to be devoured.—The United States would furnish but a breakfast for the French, who would make a dinner of Spain, and sup on the rest of the world!!!—at least this is the creed of every man, of every woman, and of every child, composing the *Grande Nation*. The French Generals, in St. Domingo, speak in the foulest manner of our country and its government. They talk of sending an army to New Orleans; "then" as one of them was heard to say, "*We'll give laws to the United States.*"

The Editors of the New York paper, after inserting Mr. Cobbett's remarks on the

consequences of the cession of Louisiana (Vide Register vol. I. p. 199) say,

"These remarks deserve the serious attention of every American citizen interested in the integrity and tranquillity of his country. If some measures be not adopted, either by negotiation, or otherwise, to divert the French from taking possession of Louisiana, it will not be long ere the foregoing prediction is accomplished." For the purport of this prediction we must refer the reader to Mr. Cobbett's letter, the opinions of which, though ridiculed by that profound politician, Sir Frederick Morton Eden, will, when it is too late, be attended to in England as well as in America.

So serious are the Americans on the subject, that the Governor of Georgia had, in the month of May, issued a proclamation, calling an extra meeting of the legislature of that state, on the 10th of June, the object of which was, *to take into consideration the cession of Louisiana to France.*—Georgia is very much exposed towards the Mississippi. Indeed, it is totally at the mercy of a powerful French army. But, Bernadotte will be there before the state of Georgia can have voted a corps of militia, which, after they are embodied for actual service (no easy matter), cannot move without the orders of Mr. Jefferson, who, if we are to judge from the language of the prints of his faction, will have little inclination to give such orders.—The extracts, which we have above made from American papers, are taken from prints hostile to the present general government, or, at least, to the persons administering it. We have carefully examined those prints, which are well known to speak the sentiments of the government, and have, as yet, not been able to discover any direct proof of its opinion on this subject, either one way or the other; but as these prints are extremely solicitous to palliate, and even to justify, all the infamous conduct of the French towards the Americans in St. Domingo, there is every reason to believe, that Jefferson and his party are resolved not to break with France on any account; and, though we are fully persuaded, that they will see with great regret the arrival of the French force in Louisiana, they will take no measures to prevent it. Without the aid of Great-Britain, it is, indeed, out of their power to prevent it, and that they would not, were they to ask it, obtain that aid, will be readily believed by every one who has the least knowledge of the character and sentiments of His Majesty's present administration. In fact, they

cannot lend their aid to assist the Americans, or any other people, against the encroachments of France. They dare not do it. They have, by their late measures, completely extinguished the warlike spirit of the country. War, of whatever kind, or for whatever object, they have caused to be regarded as an evil; as something detestable; as something to be avoided and hated at all events. Yet we must finally go to war; we must go to war in a very very few years, or we must sink without a struggle. But, the consequence of the peace will be, we shall, though at war in a year from this time, find that we have begun too late; we shall, in every quarter of the world, find the vantage ground taken by the enemy; and, as to the important territory of the Mississippi, all the evils of its cession to France will have taken place before any ministry will dare to talk of arming.

Of what vast importance the absolute command of the Mississippi is, may easily be gathered from the following account of exports down the river from the port of Louisville alone, during the quarter of a year, ending in March last.

LOUISVILLE, (*Falls of Ohio*) April 15.

Exports from the Port of Louisville, in the district of Kentucky to Floridas and Louisiana, for the quarter ending 31st March, 1802. (Taken from the Custom-house books.)

360 Barrels apples,	Castings 30 dollars,
2,225 Gallons cyder and cyder-royal.	Manufactured iron, 60 dollars.
50 Barrels beef.	55,302 lb. Hogg's lard,
97 Ditto ship-bread,	562 Bushels Indian meal,
4 Bushels beans,	Merchandise, 13,062 dls.
2,229 Pounds butter,	179 Bushels oats,
4 Pair boots,	202 Do. potatoes,
1,121 Bushels corn,	2,268 Barrels pork,
443 Pounds cheese,	7,620 Gallons domestic spirit,
55 Do. wax-candles,	3 Pair shoes,
171 Do. tallow candles,	Sadlery, 146 dolls.
896 Cwt. 3 qrs. 18lb. cordage,	1,097 lb. Soap,
2 Pleasurable carriages,	2,640 Do. manufactured tobacco,
45,385 Barrels flour,	517 Hogsheads ditto,
Household furniture 340 dollars,	4 Barrels tar,
5 Bushels flax-seed,	2,450 Feet plank,
336 lb. gun-powder,	Aggregate value, 312,263 dollars, or about £.50,000 sterling.
Hats, 50 dollars,	
188,856lb. Bacon & hams,	
20,000 Do. hemp,	

Now, let the reader refer to the speeches on the peace, by Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, by the Master of the Rolls and General Maitland, as also to the observations of Sir Frederick Morton Eden, and he will at once perceive, that neither of them was in possession of the most trifling degree

of knowledge of this part of the subject, on which they were speaking. They believed, or at least, they wished to make the nation believe, that, because Louisiana was of but little value to France *a hundred years ago*, it would be of no value to her *now*. This was begging the question; it was drawing a conclusion upon premises by no means granted or established; for, Louisiana *was* of great value to France a hundred years ago; but, allowing that it was not of any value before an inch of land had been cleared on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, before the very name of Kentucky was known, does it follow that it will be of no value *now*, when from Louisville alone, the exports amount to £320,000 a year? On this, and on every other subject, we shall be careful never to make hazardous assertions, never to proceed upon vague and uncertain foundations; but, it may not be amiss to state, what we think will be fully confirmed by future details, that the whole of the exports down the Mississippi, for the year ending on the 31st of March last, will not amount to less than *a million and a half sterling*—a fearful amount, when we consider that it will now be placed entirely at the mercy of France!

We shall close this interesting account with an extract of a letter, addressed to Mr. Cobbett, by a gentleman residing in New York, and to the contents of which we may, without hazarding the displeasure of the reader, venture to call his utmost attention.

New York, May, 12. 1802.

As to public matters, since the liquidation of the old debts took place, in which the Virginians were so much interested, they have had no particular motive to prolong ancient animosities, or to excite new ones between the two nations. The French mania, which this country once affected so unwisely, grows weaker, and will be succeeded by a more sincere hatred, if Buonaparté executes his project of colonizing Louisiana. Whether this hatred will ever rise to hostilities, or whether it will sink into a *prudential* acquiescence, in case of such an event, will depend much on circumstances. At present the French are viewed with an evil eye by a great majority of the people, not only on account of their pretensions to Louisiana and the Floridas, but for the advantages they took in the last treaty, and for their treacherous and profligate conduct towards the American traders at St. Domingo. On their side, I believe, they despise and hate us as sincerely. *Tant mieux!*

The liberal manner, on your part at least, in which the old claims of British creditors have been settled, was a wise and happy measure: it has cut up the ancient enmity by the roots, in the minds of many influential men who were prejudiced against you merely on that account. To use a well known Indian phrase, the hatchet is buried, and I believe there are few who will dig it from its grave, except the French, and the American allies. If the former take any place, or

ought to take place, between the parent and her children. We must either go to war with the grand republic, in which case we shall want your aid, or we must agree to lose Georgia, Tennessee, and all the western territory, or we must grant the enemy certain exclusive privileges in trade, injurious to you. The latter I apprehend is not very probable. But what a fatal neglect it was that Great-Britain did not seize on the mouth of the Mississippi before the peace was concluded! What a world of trouble and expense it would have prevented!

I am happy in believing that the strange delusion, that took place in your countrymen, at and after the signing of the preliminaries, is passing away, and that, if the definitive treaty is signed, you have obtained more just and adequate terms. The preliminaries, indeed, would disgrace an idiot. They are a monument of human imbecility. With the best terms you have any chance to obtain from a government of such enormous size and ambition as the French, you will always be unsate: the sword which has been drawn principally for your destruction, will always be hanging over your heads. It has long been a settled point with me that Great-Britain and France cannot long co-exist as equals. This is an opinion founded on the politics of France for more than a century, and is confirmed, beyond a doubt, by her present unexampled thirst for universal domination. The war will be renewed again, and again, until one or other is crushed. How impolitic therefore was your ministry to submit to such terms, or indeed to any terms which would leave your implacable enemies in possession of all their conquests, to say nothing of the surrender of your own conquests, when you had it so much in your power, when indeed it was your duty, to reduce them to a more moderate size.—It is a folly, worthy only of a whining hypocritical philanthropist, to declaim against the horrors of a war *ad internecionem*, when the matter is not left to your choice—when your enemies have so long resolved on your destruction—and destroyed you must be, or you must destroy them. As to yourself, I see with pleasure you have made a nobler choice: you have resolved to wage perpetual war, with the pen at least, against the foes of your country, foreign and domestic, and I hope your labours will not be lost, that they will help to keep alive the old anti-gallican British spirit, which like the vestal fire of the ancients ought never to be extinguished.

Excuse this leap across the Atlantic, and I will lead you once more back to the woods of America.—Party spirit still rages among us with all its appropriate features. The outs are cursing the ins; and the ins, as far as they are able, are sending the outs to perdition. You have sometimes had such scenes in your country, but party rage has never been carried to such extremes as here. Here the changes in offices have been almost universal: it has extended even to the poor clerks.—Nevertheless I can excuse the present administration so far: the revolution, though pretty complete, does not contradict republican principles, or threaten any material injury to the body of the people. It is only shifting the loaves and fishes of government into new hands. But some of the late acts of the national legislature appear to me extremely impolitic. The abolition of the taxes on luxuries, and other articles to which the people were reconciled, while the duties on certain necessities, such as tea, coffee, and sugar, are continued, must render the authors unpopular in a very short time; and the liberty that has been taken to remove a great number of judges from their offices, without any pretence of misconduct, looks too much like a deter-



mination to render the courts of justice the mere engines of a party.—These two articles excepted, I cannot discover any very tremendous charge, as regards the general interest of the community. As to our foreign relations, the present system appears to be completely pacific, and towards your country rather friendly, than indifferent—though if you had obtained from the domineering French, more honourable conditions of peace, you would have stood higher in our esteem.

I remain your most faithful friend.

Mr. Wm. Cobbett, London.

ANSWER.

Dear Sir,

Pall Mall, 14th July, 1802.

You will, perhaps, be surprized to see so great a part of your letter in print; but, I place so much reliance on everything you say, that I could not forbear communicating your present remarks to my readers.

I can readily conceive, that *the liquidation of the old debts* has softened the asperity of the Virginians, from whom, chiefly, those debts were due; but I am very far from giving my entire approbation to the manner in which that liquidation has been effected. The debts due to British creditors amounted to about *three millions*, in lieu of which we have obtained *six hundred thousand pounds*. That it was very unwise in Lord Shelburne to make any stipulation for the payment of these debts I allow; but, it having been made, and a fair and honourable mode of settling the amount having been agreed upon in a second treaty between the two nations, that mode ought to have been adhered to. In diplomatic transactions this country is ever out-witted, but by no nation has she been out-witted more glaringly than by America. Observe, that, while we forego all the advantages of the treaty of 1794, you forego none of them. While the decisions of the board, which were to obtain justice for British creditors are wiped away, because they operate against the wishes of America, those of the board, constituted to examine and decide on the claims of Americans, are to have their full effect. This system of concession may procure us a short respite from attack; but, be assured, that, if persevered in, it will, in a few years, as certainly effect our ruin as it has already exposed us to contempt.

Your opinion respecting the final consequences of the cession of Louisiana differs somewhat from that which I have formed, though, indeed, you do not speak very positively. You say, that you must either go to war with France, (with our aid), or lose the *Western countries*, or grant to France certain exclusive privileges in trade, injurious to us, which latter, you think, is not very probable.—I am glad to hear you say this, because it accords with the interests of my country, and because I have the utmost deference for your judgment and foresight. I must, however, confess, that I greatly fear that you over-rate the spirit and good disposition of your countrymen. The tameness, with which you have submitted, and are now submitting, to the injuries and insults of France, gives me no encouragement to hope, that you will, when she is become more formidable to you, buckle on your armour and resist her encroachments. Besides, she will be very careful for some time, not to proceed, in her colonization of Louisiana, in such a way as shall furnish the real friends of American independence with a ground of complaint against her. She will not attack you by storm but by sap. She will have you completely in her power ere she draws the dagger from her cloak.—*Truth*, however, is what

I wish to convey to my readers, and, therefore, I publish your opinion with the acknowledgment that I regard it as of much greater weight than my own. Nevertheless, as you make the refusal to the granting of France certain privileges in trade injurious to England, to depend on the other alternative of war, with our aid, or upon the losses after yielding the *Western countries to France*, I must confess, that I see little ground to hope for such a war; and, if France obtains possession of the Western countries without war, your and our ruin will be only postponed for a time.

As to your hope respecting the definitive treaty, it will, ere this, have been completely blasted by a perusal of that disgraceful instrument. I perceive, that your countrymen in general had adopted the opinion, that the circumstance of the French fleet having sailed to the West Indies would operate greatly in our favour at Amiens. This was the opinion here also. It is precisely what Lord Grenville urged in the House of Lords; but, alas! little do you know of the ministers who have made this peace! Inadequate indeed is the notion that you can possibly form of their miserable policy, and of the paltry motives by which they have been actuated.

The *delusion*, which prevailed at the signing of the preliminaries is wearing away: indeed, it is no more; but the vestal fire of Britain, the old anti-gallican spirit, is not to be kept alive by any exertions, much less by the puny efforts that it is in my power to make. It is *already extinguished*, or burns in the breasts of but a very trifling portion of the people of this country. The love of money and of ease has overpowered every noble sentiment. There is not more *profligacy* than formerly. I believe not so much. But there is infinitely more effeminacy, more cant, and less courage. The French revolution has not destroyed our bank, our parliament, nor our courts of law and justice; but it has imperceptibly sapped the hearts of the people, it has neutralized their feelings; eradicated the patriot passion, and has rendered loyalty a matter of expedience rather than what it used to be, a principle of equal force with filial affection or the love of life. The lower orders of the people live better than formerly, that is, they eat better food, and are clad and lodged better; the towns and villages increase in population, in neatness, and in convenience; the houses, the roads, the fields, the cattle, the carriages of every description, present a picture of prosperity and opulence such as never was beheld in any other country; but we want the virtues by which alone these blessings are to be preserved. We want a high sense of national honour; we want a contempt of wealth and of life, when put in competition with the glory of England.

I am, yours, &c. &c.

Wm. COBBETT.

ADDRESS to the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders, of the City of Norwich.

Gentlemen, we trust it will not be thought the language of disappointment (we are sure it is not that of presumption,) if we say that we regret the event of the late contest less on our own account, than with a view to the effects which it is likely to produce in this city, and the example which it gives to the kingdom at large.

We have declared our opinion from the beginning—an opinion which our adversaries will be the last to dissent from,—that this has been a great political contest, in which we are now compelled to add, that victory rests entirely on their side. With a deduction made for the effects of money, and of those arts, which though practised perhaps at all times, have in this city rarely been seen to the same extent and in the same forms as on the late occasion, the triumph of that system of politicks, which we can describe only by the name of jacobin politicks, will in few instances be found to have been more complete. Those who know the state of parties in this city, with the characters of some of the principal actors and leaders, will be at no loss for proofs of this remark; and those who judge at a distance will require probably no other proofs than that which they will derive from the event itself. We have said, in a former address, and the assertion is in no degree contradicted by what has happened, that a great majority of the property and consequence of the city was on our side. We fear that that consequence has suffered itself to be defeated and overborne precisely by the same means, which we have seen lead to the destruction of great states and empires; (we hope from our hearts that others may not be exposed to equal danger,)—by the supineness of long-established power, and by the want of estimating truly and in time, the effect of those arts now employed systematically for the overthrow of establishments of every kind.

In this view of things it would not be respect, it would be presumption in us, if we were to dwell on our own individual losses, and the concern which we must feel at being deprived of an honour, which one of us had so long enjoyed, and which we had both so eagerly solicited. What we may be allowed to regret (and no terms can express too strongly our feelings in that respect,) is the separation from those friends whose virtues, public and private, have long endeared our situation to us, and who never gave stronger proofs of those virtues, or did more to render separation painful than at the moment when it was about to take place. In one view, we trust, we shall not be separated from them: we still hope to preserve the connection of private friendship; as undoubtedly no time will ever efface from our minds the memory of what we have owed to their kindness. Never were persons supported in a cause by more ardent, honourable, and disinterest-

ed zeal, or by those of whose support they might be more proud. This must be our consolation (and a great and efficacious one it is) under our present disappointment. With this impression upon our minds, with the liveliest sense of gratitude to our friends, and with the best wishes for the prosperity of the city of Norwich, we have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient, and faithful humble servants,

Norwich, July 10th,
1802.

W. Windham.
J. Frere.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Dates for the holding the Summer Assizes.

NORTHERN CIRCUIT.

Lord Ellenborough, L. C. J. and Justice *Chambre*.

York and City.....	Saturday, July	31.
Yorkshire.....	Saturday,	31.
Durham.....	Tuesday, Aug.	10.
Town of Newcastle-up- on-Tyne, & County..	Saturday,	14.
Northumberland.....	Saturday,	14.
Cumberland.....	Friday,	20.
Westmoreland.....	Wednes.	25.
Lancashire.....	Saturday,	28.

NORFOLK.

Lord Alvanley, L. C. J. of the Court of Common Pleas, and Justice *Grose*.

Buckinghamshire.....	Monday, July	26.
Bedfordshire.....	Thursday,	29.
Huntingdonshire.....	Saturday,	31.
Cambridgeshire.....	Monday, Aug.	2.
Suffolk.....	Thursday,	5.
Norfolk.....	Monday,	9.
City of Norwich.....	Monday,	9.

HOMER.

Lord Chief Baron *Macdonald* and Baron *Hotham*.

Hertfordshire.....	Monday, July	26.
Essex.....	Wednes.	28.
Sussex.....	Monday, Aug.	2.
Kent.....	Wednes.	4.
Surrey.....	Monday,	9.

OXFORD.

Justice *Lawrence* and Justice *Le Blanc*.

Berkshire.....	Monday, July	26.
Oxfordshire.....	Wednes.	28.
Worcestershire.....	Saturday,	31.
City of Worcester.....	Saturday,	31.
Gloucestershire.....	Wednes. Aug.	4.
City of Gloucester.....	Wednes.	4.
Monmouthshire.....	Saturday,	7.
Herefordshire.....	Tuesday,	10.
Shropshire.....	Saturday,	14.
Staffordshire.....	Wednes.	18.

MIDLAND.

Justice *Heath* and Baron *Thompson*.

Northamptonshire.....	Tuesday, July	27.
Rutland.....	Friday,	30.
Lincolnshire.....	Saturday,	31.
City of Lincoln.....	Saturday,	31.
Nottinghamshire.....	Thursday, Aug.	5.
Town of Nottingham....	Thursday,	5.
Derbyshire.....	Saturday,	7.

Leicestershire	Wednes.	11.
Borough of Leicester	Wednes.	11.
City of Coventry	Saturday,	14.
Warwickshire	Saturday,	14.

WESTERN.

Justice *Rooke* and *Baton Graham*.

Southampton	Tuesday, July	27.
Wilts.	Saturday,	31.
Dorset	Thursday, Aug.	5.
Devon	Monday,	9.
City and County of Exeter	Monday,	9.
Cornwall	Monday,	16.
Somerset	Saturday,	21.
City & County of Bristol.	Friday,	27.

BRECON.

The Hon. <i>George Harding</i> and <i>Abel Moysey</i> , Esq.		
Presteigne	Monday, Aug.	16.
Brecon	Saturday,	21.
Cardiff	Saturday,	28.

CIRCULAR.

Horse-Guards, July 6, 1802.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant permission to the several regiments of his army, which served during the late campaign in Egypt, to assume, and wear in their colours, a badge, as a distinguished mark of his Majesty's Royal approbation, and as a lasting memorial of the glory acquired to his Majesty's arms, by the zeal, discipline, and intrepidity of his troops, in that arduous and important campaign.

His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief has directed me to make this communication to you, in order that the regiment under your command may avail itself of the honour hereby conferred by his Majesty; and I am commanded, at the same time to apprise you, that a pattern of the badge, approved by his Majesty, is lodged at the office of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, there to be had recourse to, as circumstances may require.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(A true Copy.) *Harry Calvert, A. G.*

The badge is a Sphinx, with the word "EGYPT" over it.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse-Guards, June 12, 1802.

His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief directs it to be made known to the army, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his Royal Pleasure, that every serjeant (whether of the cavalry, foot guards, or line,) who has in the course of the late war, or may hereafter, become blind

on service, shall receive an allowance of 1s. 6d. per diem; every corporal, in the like circumstances, 1s. 2d. per diem; and every drummer and private man, in like circumstances, 1s. a day, for the remainder of their lives.

It is the Commander in Chief's pleasure that his Majesty's gracious intention, above expressed, shall be communicated to the men, and inserted in the orderly book of every regiment.

By order of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief,

Harry Calvert, A. G. of the Forces.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The elections continue to be the leading political subject.—A very numerous body of Mr. Windham's friends met, at the Angel in *Norwich*, on Saturday last, without his knowledge or concurrence, to support his nomination for *Norfolk*.—Colonel Wodehouse having already declared himself a candidate on the loyal interest of the county, found it necessary to have some understanding with that gentleman's committee, in order either that a junction might be formed between them, or that the latter might withdraw.—Colonel Wodehouse perceiving that the two interests would materially clash, relinquished his pretensions in favour of the superior claims of Mr. Windham. A large subscription was immediately begun, for supporting Mr. Windham's election, and the gentlemen present entered into a resolution, to bring their tenants and neighbours to the poll, free of expense. The next morning, through the activity of his friends, almost every town and village in the county was in motion for Mr. Windham.—At *Yarmouth* in particular, 700 freeholders volunteered themselves, free of expense, under the direction of the Mayor, Sir Edmund Lacon, and the principal gentlemen of the town, and a handsome subscription was set on foot and increased with great rapidity. But, on Mr. Windham's return to *Norwich*, having received the intelligence of his being already elected at another place, he thought it right to request that his friends would not carry their exertions in his favour any further, as he would not appear any longer to occupy a post which he thought might be filled by others with greater advantage to their interest.—In consequence of this determination, Colonel Wodehouse again came forward, with the full support of Mr. Wind-

ham's friends, and the loyal and independent freeholders of the county, as well as of his own most respectable family interest, and from the result of the poll, there is every reason to believe that he will be returned with a considerable majority.—The numbers, at three o'clock on Thursday, (the fourth day of the poll) are, for Mr. Coke, 3,612, Colonel Wodehouse, 3,071, Sir Jacob Astley, 2,918; great reinforcements are hourly expected for Colonel Wodehouse.—There is no doubt, had Mr. Windham stood, that he would have been elected by a large majority; and so great is his general popularity in the county, that it is now confidently believed, that notwithstanding Mr. Coke's vast county influence, Mr. Windham would have headed the poll.—In *Hertfordshire* we are sorry to perceive, that Mr. Baker has been rejected, in consequence of the great exertions of the adverse interest. An old, faithful, and industrious member is here lost to the great council of the nation. We hope he will come in for some other place. Men should, in such cases, lose sight of their private injuries in pursuit of the good of their country. Mr. Baker is not less remarkable for his attention to, and his knowledge of, public business, than for his integrity. Such men should not be discouraged by an electioneering defeat.—The *City of London* has behaved well, upon the whole. Three out of four of the members chosen are those who refused to sign the abominable test, which they were so impudently called upon to subscribe; and, if we are rightly informed, Mr. Alderman Combe did not actually sign, though he gave his unequivocal assent to the principle of the test.—The *County of Middlesex* has, too, resisted the clamours of Democracy. To read the bills and advertisements that have been published, one would believe, that the contest in this county was not between two gentlemen, but between the magistrates and the thieves, and that the great body of those who have espoused the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, have done so with a hope, that, if he were successful, there would be an end to all legal punishment, and that crimes of every sort would be committed in perfect security.—The contest at *Dover*, from some very singular circumstances attending it, has excited a great share of public attention. Mr. Spencer Smyth, brother of Sir Sidney, both of whom are natives of this place, stood upon what is called the independent interest. Mr. Trevanion has a family and proprietary interest. Mr. Huskisson stood

upon the interest of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, of which Dover is one. Soon after it became certain, that Mr. Huskisson's pretensions would be contested, a handbill in the following words, was published by a Mr. Fector, who is a banker at Dover, and a principal proprietor in the packet boats of that place:

"That no false rumours may prejudice Mr. Huskisson's election, I think it a justice due to him to declare that I had not even a common acquaintance with him, nor knew any thing of his intention of offering for Dover, previous to my hearing from Mr. Pitt on Saturday the 20th June last, that it was *his wish*, and *the wishes of government*, that he should succeed Mr. Pybus, who meant to decline. The strongest testimony I can afford the town, that I shall never be instrumental in attempting to force any person upon them is, that in this very instance I actually did give up one of my most intimate friends (Colonel Churchill) then a member, and equally anxious to come forward with the good wishes of government. The gentleman in question, I have every reason to believe, might have had the countenance of Mr. Pitt, if I had pressed it. To have done so I thought would have been a presumption, particularly as Mr. Huskisson's public character was not unknown to me. High in the confidence of Mr. Pitt and the present administration, I felt convinced Mr. Huskisson would prove an *active* and *useful* member to the town. No other motive induced me to give him my support: and should any person be disposed to question these facts, I can and will afford him undoubted testimony that this is the truth, and the whole truth upon the subject.

(Signed) "J. M. FECTOR."

This is, indeed, a very extraordinary publication, and one which we have anxiously wished to see contradicted; but, as it has *not* been contradicted, we are certainly bound to regard it as authentic, and so regarding it, we feel ourselves called upon to bestow on it some few remarks. Its object appears to have been to convince the electors, that by choosing Mr. Huskisson, they would please Mr. Pitt (the Lord Warden) and the ministry. It appears to have been the prevailing notion, that Mr. Fector had, of his own accord, and to answer his own private purposes, resolved to bring in Mr. Huskisson. To remove this impression, which might be injurious to that gentleman,

Mr. Fector informed the electors, that it was not to gratify his own wishes, but the wishes of Mr. Pitt and the ministry (for we cannot in the language of Mr. Fector, call the ministry the *government*), that he had proposed and supported Mr. Huskisson. Such an explanation, in *private*, might have been proper enough; but to make it the subject of a hand-bill, though it may not deserve the name of treachery, was, to give it the mildest term, certainly a most glaring instance of indiscretion. That Mr. Pitt, being out of the ministry, should take upon him to express their wishes, in this instance, will most assuredly lead to a belief, that he has ruled the cabinet, not only in the whole of the electioneering arrangements, but in every measure adopted since his resignation, and that the present ministers are, to all intents and purposes, the mere puppets of others, who govern in reality, while they are securely sheltered from even the appearance of responsibility. It is hardly possible that Mr. Pitt should have authorized this publication of Mr. Fector; but, we cannot help lamenting, that he should have communicated in such a manner with such a man. To request Mr. Fector to give his support to a particular candidate would have had nothing objectionable in it. It was what Mr. Pitt had an undoubted right to do; it was even what he ought to do; but, to communicate "the wishes of the government" on the subject, was either too high or too low for Mr. Pitt. As the *master* of the ministry it was too high, as the *agent* it was too low. As Mr. Pitt and as Lord Warden he should have spoken, and as nothing else. —With respect to the merits of the opponent candidates, it is hardly fair to suppose, that Mr. Pitt, in recommending Mr. Huskisson, wished to oppose Mr. Spencer Smyth, because it is not certain that he was apprized of that gentleman's intention to stand for Dover; if he had known it, we would fain believe, that he would have been the last man in the world to attempt to frustrate his views. With regard to Mr. Huskisson, however, we cannot refrain from expressing our surprize and even our regret, that he should have been the person fixed upon by this great and penetrating statesman. That the talent of public speaking is by no means an indispensable qualification in a member of parliament we are ready to allow; and, if it were so, Messrs. Huskisson and Pybus are, in this respect, much about upon a level, each of them being, we believe, fully adequate to the

task of articulating the monosyllables *aye* and *no*; but, when we see what we cannot but regard as extraordinary exertions, made to bring in a candidate, and made too by such a man as Mr. Pitt, we are naturally and irresistibly led to inquire into the nature and extent of that candidate's pretensions to a post of so much honor and public importance; and, without the least desire to detract from the merits, which Mr. Huskisson may possibly possess (though they have never come to our knowledge), we must say, that we think he has been already more than sufficiently loaded with the favours of government. Either high birth, distinguished talent, or great public service, is, and ought to be, a sufficient pretension to public honours and emoluments; but, as far as we have been able to learn, Mr. Huskisson has a claim upon neither of these grounds. Lord Gower found him a banker's clerk at Paris. We are very willing to believe that his lordship's patronage was not improperly conferred when he procured him an appointment as clerk in the Alien Office; nor are we inclined to question the propriety of his being promoted in the office of Mr. Dundas; but, we cannot deny ourselves the right of questioning both the propriety and the justice of giving him a seat in Parliament, in addition to the ample, not to say extravagant and prodigal provision which he had already obtained from his Majesty's ministers. It was in the year 1793 that he was first noticed by Lord Gower. In six years afterwards (during the far greater part of which time he had been in very inferior situations) he obtained a pension, during pleasure, of no less than £1,200 a year; and, upon the change of ministry in 1801, this pension was changed from *during pleasure* to a pension *for life*. He, at the same time, enjoyed the agencies for the Cape and Ceylon, each of them £600 a year. The former of these is gone, of course, but the latter he still enjoys. So that, if the peace had not unfortunately robbed both him and the nation of the Cape of Good Hope, he would, to this hour, have been in the enjoyment of £2,400 a year. As it is, he has for his services, as a mere clerk, received a reward nearly as great as that which was bestowed on Lord Rodney, or the Hero of the Nile, and *much greater* than that bestowed on the *Defender of Acre*! This, one would think, was enough without a seat in parliament! It was enough to give him a fortune, without setting him up to be the rival of the nobility and gentry of

England; without sending him to make laws for the government of the empire! Far be it from us to rail against places and pensions: they are the rewards, which government bestows, and ought to bestow, on those who render services to the nation. Nay, we go further, and allow that it is perfectly proper, not only to entail such rewards on widows or children, but, for the support of the aristocracy of the kingdom, to bestow emoluments, in certain extraordinary cases, on persons who have rendered no services at all to the state. This is a prerogative which belongs to a king, and without which a crown would not be worth having. The writer of this article has witnessed the fatal effects of a niggardly system of economy, and is well convinced that no part of the public money is, generally speaking, better employed, than that which goes to answer the demands of national gratitude, generosity, and munificence. Nor do we grudge Mr. Huskisson a pension; but that pension should have been proportioned to his services, or to his birth, neither of which entitled him to any thing like the provision, which he has secured. Such being our opinion, we cannot but express our pleasure at the result of the Dover election; not so much, however, at the defeat of Mr. Huskisson (for we bear him no ill-will) as at the success of his opponent, who, besides his own merits, has the honour to be the brother of Sir Sidney Smyth. Sir Sidney is chosen for the City of Rochester; and we observe with great pleasure, that those gallant officers Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Edward Pellew will also be seated in the next parliament. We have never enquired what are the politics of these gentlemen. We feel no anxiety about the side they will take, being well assured, that, unless they are deceived (which the wisest men sometimes will be) they will never give their consent to a measure hostile to the interests or honour of their country. They will bring into the new House of Commons that best of all possible ingredients, courage, of which the last was so miserably destitute; and, from the result of the elections in general, we are led to hope, that the race of "well-meaning men," of "economists" and "philanthropists," will have experienced a considerable diminution. The disorder of this nation is not a fever, but a palsy. Any thing that will enliven is good. An actual rebellion would not be half so dangerous as that torpor, that total indifference, which

has lately prevailed; the former might be quelled, but the latter, if it continue for any length of time, must end in radical destruction. The decline of life and of genius has ever been marked by a return to childish fancies and amusements; and really the last House of Commons, with its bills about "bull-baiting" and "rabbit's dung," exhibited a scene strongly resembling the last stages of mortality; a scene so disgusting, so humiliating to the nation, and so pleasing to its enemies, we hope never again to behold within the walls of St. Stephen. With the new parliament we hope to see also a new ministry; or, at least, an efficient and responsible ministry. We believe Mr. Addington to be a very *honest* man, but what is that? Honesty alone is not a recommendation for a footman, and shall it be for a first minister? He is not altogether destitute of talents as an orator, and even, perhaps, as a financier. In truth, he is what may be called a clever man. But he wants those great and commanding qualities, which mark the statesman, and which are at this time, more than ever, necessary to the preservation of the country. There are several persons in the ministry possessed of very good talents, nor are they at all deficient in point of industry and zeal; but they want weight, they want consequence, they want birth. At no period of our history were the powers of government ever shared by so few men of family. The ancient nobility and gentry of the kingdom have, with a very few exceptions, been thrust out of all public employments: this part of the aristocracy has been, in some measure, banished from the councils of the state. A race of merchants and manufacturers, and bankers and loan-jobbers and contractors, have usurped their place, and the government is very fast becoming what it must be expected to become in such hands. We think it probable, that Mr. Pitt may again be minister, and if he should, we hope he will perceive and avoid the evil consequences of surrounding himself with *low* and *little men*. In a minister who is himself a little man, it may be excused; but Mr. Pitt must always be great, even among the greatest. If Mr. Pitt should ever cast his eye upon this page, we are well persuaded he will not impute any selfish or malicious motive to the writer of it, and we, therefore, beg leave to tell him what many good men think, what is thought by many of his warmest admirers, but what he will never hear from any body but our-

selves; and that is, that his preference of low-churchmen has excited great jealousy and suspicion in those who are sincerely attached to the hierarchy, amongst whom are certainly to be reckoned a vast majority of the clergy; that the project, imputed to him, for rendering the clergy pensioners of the state, has greatly strengthened this suspicion; that, in short, the clergy do not regard him as a friend of the church. While Jacobinism was at our doors, while all was in jeopardy, the clergy supported him, because the existence of the Church and State was, in some sort, identified with his administration; but, now that the danger of commotion and rebellion is past, the minds of men will return to considerations of a nature somewhat more private, and, he may rest assured, that the attachment of this powerful body, powerful by their numbers, their talents, their character, and their local situations, is to be preserved by nothing short of unequivocal testimony, that he harbours no intention of invading or undermining the established Church, to effect which was, as many persons believe, the sole object of the establishment of the Board of Agriculture, a belief which has been but too strongly corroborated by the proceedings and publications of that board. We also beg leave to tell him, that his partiality for young and new men, for persons of his own creation, to the almost total exclusion of the old nobility and gentry, is a subject of complaint with a great number of very good men. In the present state of this country a minister might set the nobility and gentry at defiance, if the ill-will excited amongst them could be confined to their own breasts; but it cannot; the people, we mean the better sort of the people, resent the neglect and ill treatment of those whom they have been, from their infancy, in the habit of respecting, more especially when the honours and favours due to them are conferred on persons of mean birth. *Il vaut mieux qu'une cité périclite qu'un parvenu la gouverne*, is an old Norman proverb; and, though the age of chivalry is certainly gone, men yet retain soul enough to dislike the power that places them beneath an upstart. This upstart system naturally grew out of the peculiar circumstances, under which Mr. Pitt came into power. It was adhered to, with some exceptions, from the first moment of his administration to the last: he appears never to have voluntarily and cordially given the hand to any thing great, whether of birth, character, or talent. Let

us hope, that, if he should again come into power, he will discard a system so injurious to the harmony and welfare of the State. Another error, which it is to be hoped Mr. Pitt will correct, is, that superabundant caution, which prevents him from clearly and unequivocally stating his object and his resolution, which leaves the public mind for ever in a state of uncertainty, and which has, in so many instances, proved injurious to the country. To this very error, and to this error alone, the French Republic owes all its successes. The British Parliament never, at any one time, knew the real object of the late war; and how, then, should Europe know it? From an over anxiety not to fail in any enterprize, the British minister acted in a way in which he never could be said to undertake; and, therefore, he was never cordially joined, either at home or abroad. No man voluntarily embarks to be drifted to and fro by the tide, or to shift his course with every change of the wind; but, tell him his destination, and he cheerfully braves the toils and dangers of the sea.—Mr. Pitt's fort lies in the domestic rather than the foreign department of politics. Having, from his very youth, had one eye constantly upon the Bank and the other upon the Parliament House, he has never been able to look abroad into the great world of politics. Without, therefore, at all detracting from the powers of his mind, we may venture to say, that he has discovered no great degree of penetration as to the conduct, the interests, and views of other nations. This is a science, however, which he must now apply himself to. The career, on which he is now about to enter, bears no resemblance to that which he has heretofore run. The present peace has laid the foundation for an entirely new distribution of power, the effects of which must be felt in a very few years. We must then have war; and it behoves him to consider how we shall be able to resist the confederacy, which France can, and will, form against us. It behoves him to consider, *in time*, how the people of this country are again to be roused to arms. "Husbanding our resources" will not save us. France has neither "commerce, capital, nor credit," yet, at only six weeks notice, she ships off an army of thirty thousand men across the Atlantic. She has, in the whole, sent 45,000 men, and more are preparing. This shows that "commerce, credit, and capital" are not essentially necessary to the power of France;

and we hope, that Mr. Pitt will no longer regard a contest with that power as "a war of finance." Men are very apt to attach the greatest degree of importance to that science which they best understand: "You may," said the currier, "think what you please about stone and oak, but, if you have a mind to have the town well fortified, take my word for it there is nothing like leather." We have opposed money to a military spirit, and we have failed. Let the eloquence of Mr. Pitt be employed to create something more efficient than wealth; something that France cannot rob us of; then will he acquire a renown more lasting than brass and marble.

The length of these remarks has left us but little room for other matters, and, indeed, there is nothing very important to notice. The dispatches from Guadaloupe, notwithstanding the unfavourable accounts lately received and industriously promulgated in London, state, that the French have completely succeeded in restoring order and submission in that island. An article in the French papers informs us, that Toussaint, the famous black hero, who was to maintain a war everlasting, is arrived, in high health and spirits, at the port of Brest. If this be true, the English philanthropists may repair thither, and give him the fraternal embrace.

The United States of America is, at this moment, the most interesting scene. The people of that country are, at last, seriously alarmed at the prospect of seeing the French in their neighbourhood (vide p. 38). They even talk of *preventing* what they so much dread; but, their resistance will be confined to words, though we shall not be surprized to hear, that Bernadotte, if he be not very rapid in his movements, has met with some annoyance at the mouth of the Mississippi. Bernadotte will have about 7,000 French soldiers, to which will, probably, be added 4 or 5,000 blacks from St. Domingo. If the Americans support General Bowles, either openly or secretly, the French General may have some trouble, but we think he will finally triumph, and, from that moment, the American States are at his mercy. So much the better, says Sir F. M. Eden, "this will create a jealousy of France, which will attach the Americans more closely to us." This doctrine has not been very fully exemplified in the case of Holland. If we were ready to *lend the Americans aid*, then, indeed, the cession of Louisiana would have been a happy circumstance; but we want peace, "*peace and a large loaf*," as the

base rabble of Norwich replied to the arguments of Mr. Windham. Should there be any attempt, on the part of the Americans, to resist the French, the English ministry, so far from lending them aid, will be the first to protest against their resistance; nor should we be at all surprized, if His Majesty were to be advised to issue a declaration to that effect.

TO THE PUBLIC.

On Wednesday last CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), *a clerk in the General Post-Office*; CHARLES WAGSTAFF, *another clerk in that Office*; and JOHN HARWOOD, an amanuensis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe and to the British Critic, were tried at the Sessions at Clerkenwell, for a riot committed at the house of Mr. Cobbett in Pall Mall.—They were convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine, the two former of £30 each, and the latter of £10, and were bound to keep the peace and to be of good behaviour for the space of two years. This brief notice would have sufficed; but, as the proceedings of the trial have been most shamefully misrepresented in the London Newspapers, we think it our duty to publish a faithful account of them, a duty which we shall discharge as soon as possible. In the mean time we think it right to observe, that, it appeared from the evidence of the Deputy Comptroller of the Foreign Post-Office, that neither of the two clerks had been for a moment *suspended* from their places or emoluments, since the commission of the crime, for which they were several weeks ago, indicted; and that a letter of Lord Auckland was shown in court, for the purpose of proving, that that crime *had in no degree injured the character of the criminals*. We do not say that his lordship so expressed himself, but the letter was shown to the prosecutor's counsel with a view to convince him that such was his lordship's opinion; and it does, we confess, appear somewhat strange, that men who had been committed to gaol, and who were afterwards indicted by the Grand Jury, should, nevertheless, still retain their places in a government office, under the controul of a nobleman, remarkable for his

attention to business. Nor is our surprize, in this respect, diminished, when we contrast the conduct of his lordship with that of the Commissioners of the Excise, who instantly *suspended* an Exciseman that was taken up at the same time with Beloe and his associates, and who kept him suspended, 'till his *innocence* was ascertained by the decision of the Grand Jury.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Whitehall, July 10.—The King has been pleased to appoint his Grace Hugh Duke of Northumberland, K. G. to be Custos Rotulorum of and in the County of Northumberland, and of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Letters Patent bearing date the 12th day of June last.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Evan Nepean, of Loders and Bothenhampton, in the County of Dorset, Esq. and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

July 13.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Baker Littlehales, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

The King has also been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Archibald Dickson, Esq. Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

War-Office, July 10, 1802.

- 2d Reg. of Dragoons, Cornet Lawrence Craigie to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Murray, promoted in the 28th Light Dragoons.
- 15th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Lieut. Walter Natha. Leith to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, vice Mansfield, who retires.
- 16th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Home Murray, from Half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Frewren, who exchanges.
- 17th Ditto, Capt. Jas. Macdonnell to be Major, by purchase, vice Gore, who retires. Lieut. Jo. Werge to be Capt. vice Macdonnell.
- 20th Ditto, Surgeon Ch. George, from the 22d Light Dragoons to be Surgeon, vice Robinson, who retires upon the Half-pay of the 22d Light Dragoons.
- 10th Reg. of Foot, Lieut. Alex. Anderson, from the 77th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Law, who exchanges. Ed. Massey, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Hanslip, promoted in the 9th Foot.
- 11th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Teale, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. vice White, who exchanges.
- 15th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Mackenzie, from the Macleod Fencibles, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Charlton.
- 22d Ditto, Ensign Wm. Dennie, from the 30th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Darley, placed upon half-pay.
- 29th Ditto, Lieut. Rich. Egerton, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Seymour, who exchanges. Lieut.

Walter Birmingham, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Barnford, who exchanges. Lieut. Rob. Birmingham, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Tandy, who exchanges.

40th Ditto, Ensign H. John Macquarrie, from the 77th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Fyffe, promoted in the 1st West-India Regiment.

41st Ditto, Sam. Hughes, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Colthurst, promoted.

42d Ditto, Lieut. Fred. Campbell, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Simon Fraser, who exchanges.

43d Ditto, Capt. Lieut. Rich. Elers, to be Capt. of a Company, without purchase, vice Philpot, promoted in the 59th Foot. Lieut. Adrian De Yonge to be Capt. Lieut. vice Elers. Tho. Lawrence Hen. Delamain, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Imlack removed to the 3d West-India Regiment.

55th Ditto, Ensign Martin Macpherson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Evatt, promoted.

60th Ditto, Lieut. John White, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Teale, who exchanges. Jas. Neethery, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Blacker, whose appointment does not take place.

62d Ditto, Major Wm. Myers, from the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Fisher, who retires.

77th Ditto, Lieut. John Law, from the 10th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Anderson, who exchanges.

90th Ditto, Capt. Jas. Lord Ruthven to be Major, without purchase, vice Vigoreaux, promoted in the Royal Garrison Battalion. Capt. Lieut. Wm. Austin to be Capt. vice Lord Ruthven. Lieut. Rich. Butler to be Capt. Lieut. vice Austin. Ensign Benj. Martin to be Lieut. vice Butler.

3d West-India Regiment, Adjutant J. Hawkesworth to be Quart. Mast. vice Robertson, deceased. Sergeant-Major — Burke to be Adjutant, vice Hawkesworth.

8th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Hen. Raikes, from the 3d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cummings, who retires.

10th Ditto, Wm. Skipton, Gent. to be Adjutant, vice G. H. Skipton, deceased.

Colonel Broderick's Reg. Col. the Hon. John Broderick to be Col. Commandant.

STAFF.—Lieut. Col. Hen. Clinton, of the 1st Foot Guards, to be Adjutant-Gen. to the King's Troops serving in the East-Indies, vice Craufurd, who resigns.

Lieut. Col. Miles Nightingale, of the 38th Foot, to be Quart. Mast. Gen. to the King's Troops serving in the East-Indies, vice Gordon, who resigns.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of Lieut. Fred. G. Carmichael to be Capt. by purchase, in the 10th Reg. of Light Dragoons, vice Macdonald, who retires, as stated in the Gazette of the 22d ult. has not taken place.

Lieut. Jas. Bird, of the 9th Reg. of Foot, is superseded.

BANKRUPTS.

Banks, Thomas, of Hill-house, Sedgely, Staffordshire, Carpenter.

Barrett, John, of Wakefield, Gardener.

Bonsor, William, Red Lion Street, Spital-fields, Silk-weaver.

Bulfield, William, of Lancaster, Shopkeeper.

Carter, Thomas, the younger, of Waltham Holy Cross, Essex, Corn-chandler.

Chilcott, William, late of Lamb Street, Spital-fields, Plumber.
 Collishaw, Charles, of Wych Street, St. Clement Danes, Cabinet Maker.
 Forbes, Colin, of Chichester Rents, Chancery Lane, Baker.
 Formby, John, late of Newburgh, Lancashire, Blacksmith.
 Hope, Peter, Liverpool, Merchant.
 James, John, of Hatton Garden, Dealer.
 Jenkins, Walter, of Bristol, Broker.
 Lambert, Thomas, late of West Grinstead, Sussex, Shopkeeper.
 Longfellow, William, of Horseforth, Guiseley, Yorkshire, Clothier.
 Parslee, John, of Holt, Norfolk, Bookseller.
 Smith, George, of Barnsley, Yorkshire, Grocer.
 Sunderland, James, of Sandall Magna, Yorkshire, Corndealer.
 Yeates, John, of Portsmouth, Coal Merchant.

BIRTHS.

Lenox, Maj. Gen. Lady of, on Saturday morning last, in Harley Street, of a son.
 Mason, Col. Lady of, on Tuesday last, at Nash-house, Gloucestershire, of a son.
 Talbot, Countess, on Saturday the 11th instant, at Ingestree, of a son and heir.

MARRIAGES.

Hudson, Chas. Thos. Esq. eldest son of Sir Chas. Grave Hudson, Bart. to Miss Pepperell, youngest daughter of Sir Wm. Pepperell, Bart.
 Parker, Wm. Esq. of the Civil Establishment, to Miss Catherine Jane Seton, second daughter of Dan Seton, Esq. Lieut. Gov. of Surat, on the 14th February last, at Sir John Anstruther's, Bart. in Calcutta.
 Trotter, B. A. Coutts, Esq. to Miss Margaret Gordon, youngest daughter of the late Hon. Alex. Gordon, Lord Rockville, brother to the late Earl of Aberdeen, at Hendon, Middlesex.

DEATHS.

Bleamire, Rich. Esq. of Penrith, Cumberland, father of Mr. Bleamire, Police-magistrate of Hatton-Garden, a few days since.
 Hawtayne, Mrs. wife of the Rev. W. Hawtayne, lately at Bristol Hot-wells.
 Howell, his Excellency Richard, late Governor of New Jersey, lately at Trenton.
 Jay, Mrs. wife of His Excellency John Jay, late Governor of New-York, and daughter of his late Excellency W. Livingston, formerly Gov. of New Jersey, on the 28th of May last, at Bedford, N. Y.
 Munro, Geo. Esq. of the Custom-house, Kingston, Jamaica, second son of the late Sir Harry Munro, of Fowlis, Bart. on the 22d of April last, at Kingston.
 Smith, Miss Eliz. sister of the late Rev. J. Smith, on the 26th ult. at Downe.
 Spry, Lieut. Gen. W. commandant of the corps of Royal Engineers, lately at his house in Howland-st.
 Turnbull, Jas. Esq. advocate, on the 8th inst. at his house in Hill-street, Edinburgh.
 Washington, Mrs. relict of the late Gen. George Washington, on the 22d of May last, at Mount Vernon.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	190
3 per Cent Red. Ann.	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 per Cent Consols..	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 per Cent Consols..	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 per Cent Ann....	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank Long Ann....	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
D ^o Short 1778 & 1779	—	—	—	—	—	5
Imp. 3 per Cent....	—	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$
D ^o Ann.....	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 per Cent 1797....	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$
Omnium	pr	pr	$\frac{1}{2}$ dis	$\frac{1}{2}$ dis	$\frac{1}{2}$ dis	$\frac{1}{2}$ dis
India Stock.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D ^o Bonds.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock...	—	—	—	—	—	—
D ^o Old Ann.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D ^o New.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751....	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d ^o	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent....	111 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets....	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F. 10 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 us.	LEGHORN	51 $\frac{1}{2}$
D ^o , at sight 10 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	NAPLES.....	44
ROTTERDAM 10 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 us.	GENOA	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
HAMBURGH.. 33 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.	VENICE, 58 livrespiccole	
ALTONA 33 4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.	effective per £. ster.	
PARIS 1 day 23 14	LISBON.....	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
PARIS.... 24 2 us.	OPORTO.....	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
BOURDEAUX, 24	DUBLIN.....	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
CADIZ 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in paper	BILBOA.....	36 D ^o
DITTO 35 eff.	PALERMO	
MADRID .. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	
DITTO 37 effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat per q. 52 to 74	Hops per cwt... 90 to 110
Foreign..... 00 .. 00	Hay per load.. 115 .. 147
Rye..... 30 .. 34	Beef, per stone.... 4s. 6d.
Barley..... 28 .. 32	to 5s. 6d.
Malt..... 46 .. 51	Mutton 5s. od. to 6s. 8d.
Oats..... 14 .. 22	Veal 4s. 8d. to 6s. 0d.
Pease (white).... 36 .. 39	Pork.... 5s. od. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse).... 31 .. 35	Tallow 3s. 6d.
Flour per sack .. 50 .. 55	Average of Sugar
Seconds..... 45 .. 50	per cwt. 38s. 8d.
Coals per chal.... 34 .. 40	Salt, per Bushel 14s. 2d.

Bread Ten Pence the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of July, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds.		Barometer. Inches.		Thermometer. Degrees.	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
8	☾	Fair Rain	s	s	29,78	29,78	66	69,5
9		Fine.	NW	NW	29,7	29,8	62	68
10		Rain.	NW	NW	29,7	29,57	64	62
11		Fair.	w	w	29,77	29,8	60	61
12		Fine.	NW	NW	29,82	29,83	59,5	63
13		Fair.	NW	NW	29,83	29,82	60	66
14		Fa. Ra. Fi.	NE	NE	29,95	29,95	61	61

● New Moon ☾ 1st. Quar. ○ F. Moon. ☾ last Quar.